



STATE OF WASHINGTON

PUBLIC DISCLOSURE COMMISSION

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**Where the Money Goes: A Review
of Campaign Vendors**

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*"The public's right to know of the financing of political campaigns and lobbying
and the financial affairs of elected officials and candidates far outweighs
any right that these matters remain secret and private."*

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WHERE THE MONEY GOES: A REVIEW OF CAMPAIGN VENDORS

Ever since it first became operational in 1973, the Washington State Open Government Act¹ has always required candidates and political committees to file reports disclosing details about both campaign contributions and campaign expenditures. Contributions above a specified amount (currently \$25) are to be reported along with the names and addresses of the contributors; expenditures above a certain amount (currently \$50) are to be reported not only with the names and addresses of the recipients, but also with the date and purpose of each expenditure. The complete record thus discloses the names and addresses of all but the smallest campaign contributors and the names and addresses of those who sell goods and services to the campaigns as well as the purpose of each expenditure.

Expenditures, however, regularly receive much less attention than is given to the contributions reported by candidates. News stories about campaigns in progress often list the names of contributors to candidates and issues committees, but very seldom do they attempt to report how the campaigns are spending the dollars they receive.

In 1974, the first major election year after the law went into effect, lists of campaign contributors were compiled by citizen organizations, volunteers, and legislative employees, using reports filed by candidates with the Public Disclosure Commission. For 1978 and every two years thereafter, the PDC has compiled and published an Election Financing Fact Book, consisting largely of lists of contributors to statewide ballot propositions, state executive and judicial candidates, and legislative candidates. The 1988 edition was expanded to include names of the largest contributors to 35 political committees, including the Democratic and Republican state committees.

The small amount of research that has been based on the expenditure side of the public disclosure filings has not focused on vendors but on the purposes of the expenditures. A PDC Research/Technical Study² published in 1984 tabulated the expenditure amounts and purposes reported by a sampling of legislative candidates, classifying expenditures under general headings like printing, postage, or advertising. Among the findings of that study: printing costs took about one-fourth of the amount spent and led all other categories; over an eight-year period the relative amount going into newspaper advertising declined while more was going into postage and into broadcast advertising. A later PDC Research Report³ used a similar sample in comparing the uses of campaign money in some

¹ Initiative 276 of 1972, now chapter 42.17 Revised Code of Washington

² "The Increased Cost of Legislative Campaigns: 1974 to 1982," February 1984

³ "Analysis of Campaign Expenditures Reported by Legislative Candidates," April 1988

high-spending legislative races with expenditures reported in less expensive ones. That study documented a continued decline in newspaper advertising as a campaign tool and an increase in mailing costs, paid staff, and polling in the more expensive campaigns.

These earlier analyses of campaign expenditures served the public and the political community with some generalized information, drawn from very specific reports filed by candidates, as to how campaign dollars were being spent, and gave some evidence of trends in the campaign business.

The present study again classifies expenditures by purpose, but its major purpose is to list and identify the biggest vendors--those who provided the goods and services in the state's costliest campaigns of 1989.

Examined in this study are the expenditure reports of 30 candidates and 5 political committees. Those chosen were the 30 highest-spending candidates on the ballot in 1989 and the 5 highest-spending committees supporting or opposing ballot issues in 1989.

All but six of the candidates were from Seattle or King County. The 30 include 2 candidates for King County Executive, 6 candidates for Seattle Mayor, 7 candidates for Seattle City Council, 6 candidates for King County Council, 2 candidates for Tacoma mayor, 2 candidates for Spokane mayor, 1 candidate for Seattle Port Commissioner, 2 candidates for Seattle City Attorney, 1 candidate for Snohomish County Council, and 1 candidate for Everett mayor. All of these positions are non-partisan except for King County Executive, King County Council, and Snohomish County Council. Most elections in odd-numbered years in Washington state are for nonpartisan municipal positions.

Of the five ballot-issue committees included, two were the principal committees on opposite sides of a statewide measure, Initiative 102, known as "the children's initiative." Two were committees in support of two different city of Seattle ballot measures and one was supporting a King County bond proposition.

For this look at campaign vendors, the recipients, amounts, and purposes of each cash expenditure of \$500 or more were recorded⁴. Because one expected outcome of the study was to reveal how campaigns chose to use the dollars available to them, only cash expenditures were counted and no attempt was made to include in-kind contributions, even though substantial amounts were reported by some candidates⁵. Within the context of this study, therefore, the term "vendor" means any person or firm who was reported as having received \$500 or

⁴ Expenditures of less than \$500 were included if the total going to that vendor over the course of the campaign reached \$500 or more.

⁵ Candidate Tim Hill reported in-kind contributions of \$7,745 from Sabey Corporation for office space and more than \$72,000 in goods and services from the Washington State Republican party. When other candidates reported in-kind contributions, it was most commonly for office rent, polling, catering, and mailings; consequently this report, based on cash expenditures only, underreports the use of these items by a few of the campaigns.

more in cash payments during 1989 from at least one of the 30 candidate committees or 5 issues committees.

The omission of cash expenditures less than \$500 makes the totals for categories and candidates less than complete, but these were campaigns where total spending in both the candidate group and the committee group ranged from around \$50,000 to \$500,000. The \$500 level captures the vendors most prominently involved in efforts to reach the voters and omits the minor costs of supplies that are common to almost any enterprise.

The thirty candidates included in this study are:

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>\$ spent</u>
Bill Bailey	Seattle City Attorney	77,637
Sheri Barnard	Spokane Mayor	79,929
Margaret Bartholomew	Snohomish Co. Council	56,325
George Benson	Seattle Council	80,816
Diane Campbell	King County Council	75,721
Cheryl Chow	Seattle Council	99,869
Virginia Galle	Seattle Council	71,422
Gary Grant	Seattle Port Commission	80,532
Audrey Gruger	King County Council	60,827
Rob Higgins	Spokane Mayor	99,447
Tim Hill	King Co. Executive	501,819
Bruce Hilyer	King Co. Executive	262,570
Doug Jewett	Seattle Mayor	384,683
Connie Niva	Everett Mayor	55,212
Margaret Pageler	Seattle Council	56,747
Kent Pullen	King County Council	97,624
Tom Ranken	Seattle Council	62,457
Bill Reams	King County Council	120,834
Randy Revelle	Seattle Mayor	208,861
Norm Rice	Seattle Mayor	249,500
Delores Sibonga	Seattle Mayor	159,014
Mark Sidran	Seattle City Attorney	69,681
David Stern	Seattle Mayor	214,399
Jim Street	Seattle Mayor	143,759
Tim Strege	Tacoma Mayor	107,083
Mike Todd	King County Council	95,131
Karen Vialle	Tacoma Mayor	84,465
Tom Weeks	Seattle Council	125,725
Jim White	King County Council	61,878
Jeanette Williams	Seattle Council	65,430

Over the years, the amount of money spent by candidates for these offices has steadily increased. Total spending by the two general election candidates for the office of mayor of Seattle went from \$125,000 in 1981 to \$471,000 in 1985, and to \$635,000 in 1989. The two finalists for the office of mayor of Tacoma spent a total of \$69,000 in 1981; this dropped to \$28,000 in 1985, but without an incumbent in the race, the two finalists spent \$191,000 in 1989. The

figures for the Spokane mayor's race went from \$81,000 in 1981 to \$61,000 in 1985, and to \$179,000 in 1989. The range of spending by the 30 highest-spending candidates for local office in Washington in 1981 started at \$21,193 and went to a top of \$354,010. In the 1989 elections, the lowest of the top 30 candidates spent \$55,212, while the highest amount was \$501,819. In 1981, there were 9 candidates in the state who spent more than \$50,000. In 1985, there were 12. In 1989, with the set of offices up for election comparable to the elections of 1981 and 1985, the number of candidates spending more than \$50,000 reached to 31.

All of these are indications of more money being spent in every election cycle. A number of factors contribute to the increase; among them may be inflation, population growth, new campaign technology, and the competitive situation in any particular election. The present study makes no attempt to determine the causes of these spending increases--it simply sets forth how these record-breaking sums were spent in the most expensive local level candidate elections in the state's history.

The five ballot proposition committees included in the study were:

Children's Initiative Campaign	527,826
Supporting Initiative 102, statewide proposition, November	
Citizens for a Better Downtown	246,518
Opposing Proposition #31, city of Seattle, May	
Citizens for Open Space	50,709
Supporting Proposition #2, King County, November	
Citizens Lobby Opposed to Unfair Taxes	86,372
Opposing Initiative 102, statewide proposition, November	
Save Our Schools	67,724
Supporting Initiative #34, city of Seattle, November	

LARGEST VENDORS

In this study the largest vendor, both in the number of campaigns served and in the number of dollars received, was the U. S. Postal Service. All 30 candidates and all 5 committees bought some postage. The total spent for postage in the campaigns of 1989 by those included in this study amounted to \$486,394. Individual totals ranged from \$1,148 for Spokane's Sheri Barnard to \$30,419 for Seattle's Doug Jewett. Eight other candidates who spent more than \$20,000 each on postage were Cheryl Chow, Tim Hill, Kent Pullen, Norm Rice, Mark Sidran, Jim Street, Tim Strege, and Tom Weeks. As a group, candidates spent about 13% of their total dollars on postage.

Other public sector recipients of campaign expenditures included the Internal Revenue Service and Washington state's departments of labor and industries and employment security. The Children's Initiative and six of the top candidate campaigns of 1989 acted like small business employers in taking deductions and paying payroll taxes. The candidates were Randy Revelle, Tim Hill, George Benson, Norm Rice, Cheryl Chow, and Rob Higgins. Most of the remaining campaigns paid fixed sums for personal services, usually described as "consulting." A few fringe benefits for campaign workers were reported as payments for parking, child care, and health care. The only campaigns with no payrolls, consultants, or personal services contracts were those of Margaret Bartholomew, Connie Niva, Kent Pullen, and the Citizens Lobby Opposed to Unfair Taxes.

After the U. S. Postal Service, the largest vendors in terms of dollars received were T & D Services of Seattle and First Tuesday of Phoenix, Arizona. Doug Jewett listed expenditures to T & D totalling \$153,748, for radio, television, and media buys. Save Our Schools paid T & D \$47,505 for polling and radio advertising. First Tuesday ranks as second highest single vendor because of \$182,000 that it received from Norm Rice and \$954 from Bruce Hilyer for media coverage. Presumably, most of that money was paid to other vendors--media outlets and producers.

The next largest vendors serving two or more campaigns were KIRO, Boruck Printing, Labels & Lists, FDR Services, US West Communications, The Franklin Press, KING-TV, and Joe White Communications. The next largest was Northwest Creative Arts, which received \$46,061 from Citizens for Open Space for advertising and printing and \$3,359 from Karen Vialle for design and newspaper advertising.

Among other firms or consultants providing a variety of services to two campaigns in this study were:

Evans/McDonough, Seattle: Margaret Bartholomew and Delores Sibonga
Madison Group, Bellevue: Tim Hill and Citizens Lobby Opposed to Unfair Taxes
Olympic Resource Management, Seattle: Diane Campbell and Bill Reams
Fairbank, Bregmen & Maullin, Santa Monica CA: Bruce Hilyer and Children's Initiative Campaign
CI Associates, Seattle: Norm Rice and Children's Initiative

The following pages list the 52 top private vendors of political goods and services for the 35 top campaigns of 1989. The vendors included are those who served two or more candidates or committees and who received more than \$5,000 in total payments. Vendors are listed in order according to the total amounts each received from the candidates and committees in this study.

<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>CANDIDATE/COMMITTEE</u>	<u>\$ PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE</u>
T & D Services Seattle \$201,253	Doug Jewett Save Our Schools	153,748 radio, television, media buys 47,505 polling, radio advertising
First Tuesday Phoenix AZ \$182,954	Bruce Hilyer Norm Rice	954 media coverage 182,000 media
KIRO Seattle \$161,353	Bill Bailey George Benson Cheryl Chow Tim Hill Randy Revelle Norm Rice David Stern David Stern Tom Weeks Children's Initiative Campaign	4,320 radio advertising 1,550 radio advertising 5,940 radio advertising 10,000 television advertising 5,580 radio advertising 17,162 television advertising 1,250 radio advertising 7,132 television advertising 8,340 radio advertising 100,079 radio/television advertising
Boruck Printing Seattle \$121,989	Bill Bailey George Benson Diane Campbell Cheryl Chow Virginia Galle Gary Grant Audrey Gruger Bruce Hilyer Doug Jewett Kent Pullen Tom Ranken Norm Rice Delores Sibonga Mark Sidran David Stern Jim Street Mike Todd Tom Weeks Jeanette Williams Citizens for Open Space Save Our Schools	2,297 signs 1,837 printing, signs 1,194 signs 3,624 printing, signs 665 printing, signs 4,936 printing, signs 1,238 printing, signs 3,166 printing, signs 46,560 printing, signs 648 signs 9,502 printing, signs 9,325 printing, signs 1,789 printing, signs 1,946 signs 4,962 signs 9,235 printing, signs 1,866 printing 2,740 printing, signs 1,107 printing 10,037 printing, signs 3,315 printing, signs

Labels & Lists
Bellevue
\$80,670

Margaret Bartholomew	391 lists
George Benson	3,166 labels, lists
Diane Campbell	1,697 computer services, labels, lists
Cheryl Chow	1,917 analysis, labels, lists
Virginia Galle	827 lists
Gary Grant	632 computer services, labels
Audrey Gruger	1,930 labels
Rob Higgins	1,704 lists
Tim Hill	5,560 computer services, labels, lists
Doug Jewett	5,305 labels, lists
Connie Niva	1,733 labels, lists
Margaret Pageler	1,238 labels
Kent Pullen	3,776 labels
Tom Ranken	2,302 lists
Bill Reams	3,437 labels, lists
Randy Revelle	5,668 computer services, labels, lists
Norm Rice	6,796 computer services, labels, lists
Delores Sibonga	2,190 labels, lists
Mark Sidran	3,835 computer services, labels, lists
David Stern	1,444 computer software, lists
Jim Street	882 labels, lists
Tim Strege	630 lists
Mike Todd	3,671 labels
Karen Vialle	967 labels, lists
Tom Weeks	4,580 labels, lists
Jim White	1,039 lists
Jeanette Williams	1,162 labels
Citizens for a Better Downtown	4,641 labels, data entry
Children's Initiative Campaign	4,597 lists, computer services
Citizens Lobby Opposed to Unfair Taxes	2,774 labels, lists
Save Our Schools	179 labels

FDR Services
Seattle
\$72,428

Gary Grant	18,575 consultant, polling
Audrey Gruger	11,000 consulting
Doug Jewett	25,000 television advertising
Mike Todd	1,853 billboards, consultant
Karen Vialle	12,000 consulting, survey
Citizens for Open Space	4,000 consulting

US West Communications
Seattle
\$71,425

Bill Bailey	1,842 telephone service
Sheri Barnard	1,385 telephone service
George Benson	912 telephone service
Cheryl Chow	2,097 telephone service
Gary Grant	494 telephone service
Audrey Gruger	817 telephone service
Rob Higgins	483 telephone service
Tim Hill	4,789 telephone service
Bruce Hilyer	7,914 telephone service
Doug Jewett	6,274 telephone service
Margaret Pageler	1,471 telephone service
Tom Ranken	1,378 telephone service
Randy Revelle	2,497 telephone service
Norm Rice	6,676 telephone service
Delores Sibonga	3,185 telephone service
Mark Sidran	1,081 telephone service
David Stern	2,694 telephone service
Jim Street	3,482 telephone service
Tim Strege	1,787 telephone service
Mike Todd	1,979 telephone service
Karen Vialle	601 telephone service
Tom Weeks	1,033 telephone service
Citizens for a Better Downtown	7,803 telephone service
Children's Initiative Campaign	7,410 telephone service
Citizens Lobby Opposed to Unfair Taxes	288 telephone service
Citizens for Open Space	1,053 telephone service

The Franklin Press Seattle \$68,461	Bill Bailey George Benson Gary Grant Audrey Gruger Randy Revelle Norm Rice Mark Sidran Tom Weeks Jeanette Williams Children's Initiative Campaign	5,841 billboards, printing 852 printing 6,540 printing 6,440 printing 12,271 printing 2,681 printing 12,750 printing 11,293 printing 4,762 printing 5,031 printing
KING TV Seattle \$62,314	Norm Rice David Stern Children's Initiative Campaign	14,345 television advertising 10,400 television advertising 37,569 television advertising
Joe White Communications New York NY \$57,561	Children's Initiative Campaign Randy Revelle	46,061 consulting 11,500 consulting: radio
Northwest Creative Arts Seattle \$50,911	Citizens for Open Space Karen Vialle	47,552 advertising, printing, retainer 3,359 design, newspaper advertising
Overnight Printing Seattle \$49,885	Bill Bailey George Benson Cheryl Chow Virginia Galle Randy Revelle Delores Sibonga Jim Street Tom Weeks Children's Initiative Campaign	2,603 printing 664 printing 2,024 printing 7,632 printing 1,228 printing 6,800 printing 26,037 printing 2,557 printing 340 printing
Washington Transit Advertising Seattle \$49,328	Diane Campbell Cheryl Chow Tom Ranken David Stern Jeanette Williams	250 transit advertising 10,433 transit advertising 14,355 transit advertising 21,415 transit advertising 2,875 transit advertising
KOMO TV Seattle \$46,857	Norm Rice David Stern Children's Initiative Campaign	11,199 television advertising 6,630 television advertising 29,028 television advertising
Moore Information Portland OR \$46,496	Tim Hill Doug Jewett Bill Reams	29,155 polling 7,000 polling 10,341 computer services
Evans/McDonough Seattle \$44,748	Margaret Bartholomew Delores Sibonga	36,323 design, mailing, printing, survey 8,425 consulting
Madison Group Bellevue \$41,351	Citizens Lobby Opposed to Unfair Taxes Tim Hill	17,313 creative, art, printing 24,038 mailing, printing, postage, retainer
Olympic Resource Management Seattle \$37,093	Diane Campbell Bill Reams	26,093 printing, transit advertising 11,000 transit advertising

Fairbank, Bregmen & Maullin Santa Monica CA \$34,549	Children's Initiative Campaign Bruce Hilyer	24,549 consulting, research 10,000 polling
Service Printing Co. Seattle \$29,925	Bill Bailey Cheryl Chow Gary Grant Norm Rice Tom Weeks Children's Initiative Campaign	2,127 printing 14,454 printing 1,869 printing 4,186 printing 2,472 printing 4,817 printing
Seattle Sheraton Seattle \$29,276	Tim Hill Doug Jewett Tom Ranken	7,290 fundraiser expenses 16,800 fundraiser expenses 5,186 fundraiser expenses
CT Associates Seattle \$28,266	Children's Initiative Campaign Norm Rice	23,266 consulting, expenses 5,000 fundraising
KSTW TV Tacoma \$27,780	Norm Rice David Stern Children's Initiative Campaign	15,980 television advertising 8,060 television advertising 3,740 television advertising
Square One Media Network Seattle \$26,337	Virginia Galle Margaret Pageler	21,337 printing, radio, transit advertising 5,000 radio advertising
Gosnell Lucas Printing Co. Seattle \$22,751	Children's Initiative Campaign Bruce Hilyer	4,598 printing 18,153 printing
Ackerley Communications Seattle \$22,099	Bill Bailey Virginia Galle Connie Niva Kent Pullen Mark Sidran Mike Todd Tom Weeks	2,425 billboards 3,410 billboards 243 billboards 4,850 billboards 3,250 billboards 3,395 billboards 4,526 billboards
Totem Press Seattle \$19,249	George Benson Citizens for a Better Downtown	14,072 printing 5,177 printing
The Morning News Tribune Tacoma \$19,217	Tim Strege Karen Vialle	10,012 newspaper advertising 9,205 newspaper advertising
Paul Ambrosino San Francisco CA \$19,140	Citizens for a Better Downtown Randy Revelle	11,790 consultant direct mail 7,350 consultant direct mail
Rotary Offset Sales Co. Tukwila \$14,639	Kent Pullen Mike Todd	13,075 printing 1,564 printing
Vision Seattle Seattle \$14,600	Virginia Galle Margaret Pageler Jim Street	5,400 mailing service 5,600 mailing service, survey 3,600 mailing service
Pollard Printing Group Tacoma \$13,847	Tim Strege Mike Todd	12,933 printing 914 printing

John Giese & Associates. Seattle \$12,500	Citizens for a Better Downtown Citizens Lobby Opposed to Unfair Taxes. Tom Ranken	2,100 consultant 5,400 consultant 5,000 consultant
KTZZ TV Seattle \$12,027	Norm Rice David Stern Children's Initiative Campaign	1,821 television advertising 9,356 television advertising 850 television advertising
PIP Printing Seattle \$11,400	Tim Hill Kent Pullen	9,528 printing 1,872 printing
Chesapeake Press Seattle \$10,724	Children's Initiative Campaign Citizens for Open Space Margaret Pageler Mark Sidran	6,087 printing 619 printing 3,488 printing 530 printing
King County Democrats Seattle \$10,681	Bill Bailey Children's Initiative Campaign Bruce Hilyer Tom Weeks	700 postage 4,366 postage 4,710 mailing services 905 mailing services
The Sign Shop Tumwater \$10,539	Margaret Pageler Randy Revelle Tim Strega Mike Todd Karen Vialle	1,013 signs 1,367 signs 3,300 signs 2,013 signs 2,846 signs
KING Seattle \$10,098	Cheryl Chow Randy Revelle David Stern Tom Weeks Children's Initiative Campaign	2,414 radio advertising 3,460 radio advertising 187 radio advertising 3,442 radio advertising 595 radio advertising
Impact Direct Seattle \$9,685	Bill Bailey Cheryl Chow Gary Grant Tim Hill Norm Rice David Stern	562 mailing services 879 mailing services 3,102 mailing services 600 mailing services 923 mailing services 3,619 mailing services
Valley Daily News Kent \$9,573	Kent Pullen Jim White	7,648 newspaper advertising 1,925 newspaper advertising
KIXI Seattle \$9,508	Cheryl Chow Randy Revelle David Stern Tom Weeks	1,203 radio advertising 4,628 radio advertising 1,071 radio advertising 2,606 radio advertising
The Sign Company Seattle \$9,260	Tim Hill David Stern	5,600 signs 3,660 signs
Eastside Printing Bellevue \$9,033	Audrey Gruger Mike Todd Tom Weeks	5,925 printing 966 printing 2,142 printing
K&H Printers Everett \$8,927	Margaret Bartholomew Connie Niva	701 printing 8,226 printing

Capitol City Press
Olympia
\$8,754

Doug Jewett
Tim Strege
Mike Todd

3,664 printing
4,170 printing
920 printing

The Country Shop
Mercer Island
\$7,970

Diane Campbell
Bill Reams

2,082 computer services
5,888 computer services

KCPQ TV
Tacoma
\$7,850

Children's Initiative Campaign
David Stern

4,420 television advertising
3,430 television advertising

KOMO
Seattle
\$7,379

Cheryl Chow
Randy Revelle
David Stern
Tom Weeks

2,244 radio advertising
2,508 radio advertising
383 radio advertising
2,244 radio advertising

KBRD
Seattle
\$6,715

Cheryl Chow
Randy Revelle
Tom Weeks
Children's Initiative Campaign

978 radio advertising
4,003 radio advertising
1,224 radio advertising
510 radio advertising

Aurore Barrett
Kirkland
\$6,450

Diane Campbell
Bill Reams

5,500 salary
950 salary

Roger Iida
Seattle
\$6,388

Bill Bailey
Norm Rice

3,000 salary
3,388 salary

KBSG
Seattle
\$6,325

Cheryl Chow
Randy Revelle
Tom Weeks

1,607 radio advertising
3,341 radio advertising
1,377 radio advertising

VENDORS AND SERVICES

Labels & Lists: The most ubiquitous of the private vendors was Labels & Lists, a Bellevue firm which appeared as a vendor for 31 of the 35 candidates and committees. Labels & Lists is recognized in the trade press as one of the country's better known local vendors⁶. This firm began in 1976 specializing in providing political lists in label format and has regularly expanded its product line to include more sophisticated lists, analyses, and computer software for political applications. Its 31 customers in this study paid a total of \$80,670 to Labels & Lists in 1989, mostly in modest amounts. The largest amount in 1989 came from the Norm Rice mayoral campaign: \$6,796 for an assortment of labels, lists, and computer services.

Telephone Service: Next in frequency among vendors was US West Communications, with 26 of the 35 campaigns reporting bills reaching \$500 or more for telephone service or equipment from this firm. Bruce Hilyer, candidate for King County Executive, spent more with US West (\$7,914) than did any other campaign. Next was Citizens for a Better Downtown, a Seattle issue, with \$7,803 and Children's Initiative Campaign, a statewide issue, with \$7,410.

Printing: Most campaigns appeared to have a primary vendor doing of their printing work, but none of the largest campaigns studied had all of their work done at a single shop. A campaign's primary printer might do most of the general printing like the brochures, tabloids, and letters, while another vendor might do the posters or stationery or special rush jobs. Two firms dominated the political printing field in the Seattle-King County area: Boruck Printing and The Franklin Press. All but four of the Seattle-King County candidates purchased printing from one or both of these two firms. By dollars spent, Franklin Press was primary printer for 7 of the 24 Seattle-King County candidates, and Boruck was primary printer for 3 of the 24. Boruck was the printer most frequently used for printing of yard signs.

For the Seattle-King County campaigns, there were 17 vendors used for printing by those who used neither Boruck nor Franklin. The largest amounts were \$25,909 paid by the Citizens for a Better Downtown to Winning Directions of San Francisco and \$16,880 from Jim White to MBO Enterprises of Seattle. Another Seattle vendor, Overnight Printing, was used by eight candidates, but was the primary printer only for Jim Street.

Outside King County, the two Spokane mayoral candidates each used a different local printer, Rob Higgins paying \$11,334 to Nedved Advertising for printing, and Margaret Barnard paying \$4,887 to Diamond Press. In Tacoma's mayoral campaign, most of Karen Vialle's printing was done by R-4 Typographers of Tacoma (for \$14,982) and most of Tim Strege's printing was done by Pollard

⁶ David Beiler, "Precision Politics," Campaigns & Elections, 10:6, February/March, 1990, p. 35.

Printing Group of Tacoma (for \$12,933). Strege also had some printing done by an Olympia firm, Capitol City Press, which was also listed as a vendor by Seattle-King County candidates Doug Jewett and Mike Todd.

Besides those mentioned above, other vendors providing printing services to two or more campaigns included:

Service Printing Co., Seattle, 6 campaigns, \$29,925
Gosnell Lucas Printing Co., Seattle, 2 campaigns, \$22,751
Totem Press, Seattle, 2 campaigns, \$19,249
Rotary Offset Sales Co., Seattle, 2 campaigns, \$14,639
PIP Printing, Seattle, 2 campaigns, \$11,400
Chesapeake Press, Seattle, 4 campaigns, \$10,724
Eastside Printing, Bellevue, 3 campaigns, \$9,033
K&H Printers, Everett, 2 campaigns, \$8,927
Copies Inc., Seattle, 2 campaigns, \$3,064
Valco Graphics, Seattle, 2 campaigns, \$2,782
All Night Printery, Federal Way, 2 campaigns, \$2,353
Trade Printery, Seattle, 2 campaigns, \$2,013
Storefront Press, Seattle, 2 campaigns, \$1,558

Broadcast Media: For two reasons, accurate totals cannot be compiled for all campaigns as to the specific stations that carried their paid advertising: one is the fact that some of the candidates reported large payments to agencies or consultants for "media" or "advertising" without identifying specific outlets⁷, and another is that some broadcasters use the same call letters for a television station that they use for an AM or FM radio station, and a reported payment to KIRO for the purpose of advertising, for one example, does not tell whether it was for radio or television.

Although the total includes a mix of both radio and television advertising and an uncertain amount of "media" money is not included, the leading broadcast vendor appears to be KIRO. Eight candidates reported spending a total of \$61,274 at KIRO, and the Children's Initiative Campaign reported \$100,079. KING-TV was reported as a vendor specifically by two candidates and by the Children's Initiative for a total of \$62,314, while KING radio was reported by four candidates and the initiative campaign, for a total of \$10,098. The same three campaigns that spent \$62,314 at KING-TV reported spending \$46,857 at KOMO-TV, and KOMO radio received \$7,379 from the same four candidates who spent \$9,503 on radio advertising at KING. Totals include only the amounts paid to specific radio or television outlets as identified in campaign expenditure reports. As the table below shows, a larger total amount was reported as payments to agencies with no identification of the outlets.

⁷ PDC instructions to campaign treasurers suggest attaching copies of agency invoices with their PDC reports as one means of complying with the requirement to disclose specific vendors, amounts and purposes.

EXPENDITURES FOR RADIO/TELEVISION

CANDIDATE OR COMMITTEE	\$ TO IDENTIFIED MEDIA OUTLETS	MEDIA \$ TO AGENCIES (outlets not identified)
Bill Bailey	4,320	27,614 to Ed Zuckerman Inc. for radio
Sheri Barnard	0	3,000 to Pinnacle Productions for TV 12,890 to Preferred Advertising for TV
George Benson	1,550	9,768 to Tim Zenk for radio 2,010 to White Communications Inc. for radio
Cheryl Chow	16,907	
Children's Initiative	307,282	
Citizens for Open Space	6,000	34,188 to Northwest Creative Arts for radio
Virginia Galle	0	17,282 to Square One Media Network for radio
Rob Higgins	0	9,981 to Nedved Advertising for radio 17,138 to Nedved Advertising for TV
Tim Hill	10,960	29,813 to Media Plus for radio 44,177 to Media Plus for TV
Bruce Hilyer	1,835	131,090 to First Tuesday for media coverage
Doug Jewett	0	12,600 to T & D Services for radio 25,000 to FDR Services for TV 71,148 to T & D Services for TV 70,000 to T & D Services for media buy
Margaret Pageler	0	5,000 to Square One Media for radio
Randy Revelle	29,653	15,155 to James T. Kitchens & Associates for radio
Norm Rice	62,457	51,864 to First Tuesday for media
Save Our Schools	0	37,816 to T & D Services for radio
Delores Sibonga	0	75,013 to Paul Kinney Productions for media
David Stern	46,723	
Tom Weeks	20,326	
Jeanette Williams	0	7,584 to Tony Ward-Smith for radio
TOTALS	508,013	710,131

Billboards and signs: Ackerley Communications was the leading vendor of billboard space, receiving money directly from six Seattle area candidates and a small amount from one Everett candidate, for a total of \$22,099. John Evans Company, a Utah firm, received a total of \$3,118 for billboards from five candidates in Seattle and King County.

The Sign Shop, located in Tumwater, made signs for the two Tacoma mayoral candidates included in the study group and for three of the Seattle area candidates. Besides that firm and Boruck Printing, sign expenditures of \$500 or more were spread among 17 different vendors of printing, silkscreening, graphics, and lumber. Four candidates, led by David Stern with \$21,415, reported expenditures to Washington Transit Advertising and two candidates bought transit advertising through Olympic Resource Management.

Polling: When the candidates and committees in this study used campaign funds to pay for polls or voter surveys, they spent more with out-of-state vendors than with local vendors. Moore Information of Portland, Oregon, received \$46,496 for polls and survey analysis from Tim Hill, Bill Reams, and Doug Jewett. The Seattle political consulting firm of FDR Services was paid for polling by the campaigns of Gary Grant and Karen Vialle. Besides Moore Information and FDR Services, six other Washington state vendors and five out-of-state vendors were paid for polls. All are listed below. The Washington vendors' total comes to \$31,878; the out-of-state vendors, \$75,246.

POLLING VENDORS

VENDOR	CITY	\$	CAMPAIGN
Altair Research	Seattle	7,500	Norm Rice
Consumer Opinion Services	Seattle	1,108	Virginia Galle
Daniel Jackson	Seattle	1,445	Virginia Galle
Don McDonough	Seattle	3,000	Delores Sibonga
Evans/McDonough	Seattle	5,250	Margaret Bartholomew
FDR Services	Seattle	5,575	Gary Grant
FDR Services	Seattle	5,000	Karen Vialle
T & D Services	Bainbridge Island	3,000	Save Our Schools
Cooper & Secrest	Alexandria VA	3,250	Norm Rice
Fairbank, Bregmen & Maullin	Santa Monica CA	10,000	Bruce Hilyer
J Crew Group	New York NY	500	Tom Weeks
Moore Information	Portland OR	29,155	Tim Hill
Moore Information	Portland OR	7,000	Doug Jewett
Moore Information	Portland OR	10,341	Bill Reams
T.H. Research	Portland OR	10,000	Citizens for a Better Downtown
Tim Hibbitts	Portland OR	5,000	Citizens for a Better Downtown

Consultants: In the field of campaign finance, the term "consultant" has a variety of meanings. Some candidates label the stipends paid ordinary campaign workers as consulting fees instead of calling them salary or wages. For some, consultant is the title given the individual who is the overall campaign manager. For others, the consultant is a professional specializing in political strategy and techniques. Other consultants or consulting firms provide expertise in specific areas such as fundraising, direct mail, telephone, television, or literature design. As a result, there is no standard definition of what a consultant is or what a consultant does in a campaign. In the context of this study, the term consultant was reserved for those expenditures that appeared to be to a professional individual or firm for expertise in political strategy or techniques⁸. Payments that appeared, because of their amounts and timing, to be more in the nature of remuneration for carrying on the day-to-day work of a campaign, were classified as salary, even when they were described on the financial reports as payments to consultants or something like "management fees."

⁸ In a few cases candidates reported the purpose of an expenditure to be for consulting when the amount of the expenditure and the absence of expenditures for some kinds of advertising made it appear likely that the bulk of the payment was to the consultant, as an agent, for some unreported kind of advertising.

Nineteen of the 30 candidates and four of the five committees in this study reported some payments to consultants. The largest amount was the \$109,155 paid by the Citizens for a Better Downtown for general consulting and consulting on direct mail and telephone campaigns.

Unless a consultant is a firm with many individuals on board or one with a very narrow specialty, it is not likely to be involved in many campaigns at the same time. In this study, the consulting firm with the greatest number of clients was FDR Services of Seattle which was listed as a consultant by four candidates and one ballot issue committee. Other consultants appearing in more than one campaign in 1989 were Joe White Communications, New York, employed by Randy Revelle and by the Children's Initiative Campaign; Paul Ambrosino, San Francisco, paid by Randy Revelle and Citizens for a Better Downtown for direct mail consulting; and John Giese & Associates, Seattle, consultant to the Citizens for a Better Downtown and the Citizens Lobby Opposed to Unfair Taxes.

Fundraising: A variety of establishments and suppliers received payments of \$500 or more in connection with fundraising events. The Seattle Sheraton was used more than any other establishment, with three candidates--Tim Hill, Doug Jewett, and Tom Ranken--holding events there. Other places used more than once included Bellevue Athletic Club, Bellevue Hyatt, Celebrations Restaurant, Mountaineers Club, Sheraton-Tacoma, and the Westin Hotel.

Mailing services: The emphasis on direct mail in these 35 largest campaigns in the state during 1989 is apparent in the fact that nearly a half million dollars was spent on postage. The chores of preparing large mailings--addressing, labeling, sorting, stamping, bundling--were farmed out by 24 of the 30 candidates to some of the firms that provide such services. The private firm most commonly used was Impact Direct, which received a total of \$9,685 from six candidates. Vision Seattle did mailing services for three candidates and was paid \$14,400. Candidates Bruce Hilyer and Tom Weeks paid \$5,615 to the King County Democrats for mailing services. Other firms used by committees and candidates included Classy Mail Service, Grosse Mailing Service, Impressions Northwest, J R Mailing Service, Publishers' Mailing Service, and Mailhandlers Inc.

Out-of-state vendors: Three of the five issues committees and a majority of the candidates spent some money with vendors outside the state of Washington, located in every part of the country: Oregon, California, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Missouri, New York, Virginia, Georgia, Florida, and the District of Columbia. The 10 highest-spending candidates all used out-of-state vendors, with Hilyer's \$141,090 leading, followed by Sibonga at \$86,857 and Hill at \$83,890. Citizens for a Better Downtown in Seattle spent \$95,539 out of state and the Children's Initiative campaign spent \$89,659. Of the total cash expenditures counted in this study, \$661,720 went to other states, amounting to about 16% of the total expenditures.

SINGLE CLIENT VENDORS

In this study there were 35 vendors who received payments from only one of the 35 candidates or committees and whose payments amounted to \$10,000 or more. Some of these vendors were agencies that were listed as recipients of expenditures by campaigns that did not file detailed lists of ultimate vendors. Others were consultants or providers of multiple services. The largest group of vendors receiving \$10,000 or more from a single campaign were individuals who were being paid a full-time salary during part of the campaign period. The payroll for Tim Hill's King County Executive campaign included three persons who received \$10,000 or more during 1989, led by Randy Pepple at \$35,000.

LARGEST VENDORS TO SINGLE CANDIDATES

<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>CAMPAIGN</u>	<u>\$ AND PURPOSE</u>
Paul Kinney Productions Sacramento, CA	Delores Sibonga	75,013 media 11,000 printing
Media Plus Seattle	Tim Hill	44,177 television 35,003 radio 1,000 commissions
Nedved Advertising Spokane	Rob Higgins	17,138 television 11,334 printing 9,981 radio 9,773 signs 300 mailing services 164 photography 67 postage
Preferred Advertising Spokane	Sheri Barnard	14,983 radio 12,890 television 3,562 transit advertising 2,819 newspaper
Ed Zuckerman, Inc. Seattle	Bill Bailey	27,614 radio
James T. Kitchens & Associates Winter Park, FL	Randy Revelle	15,155 radio
Kitchens & Associates Orlando, FL	Children's Initiative	11,041 advertising
Ray McNalley & Associates Sacramento, CA	Tim Hill	19,715 mailing production 12,229 media promotion 11,138 consulting, fees, commissions 5,663 contract services 2,043 travel
Joe Slade White New York, NY	Norm Rice	14,725 media production 5,000 consultant
Tony Ward-Smith Seattle	Jeanette Williams	8,181 advertising 7,584 radio 2,867 consulting 416 printing
The Prescott Company Olympia	Kent Pullen	9,690 signs 6,855 transit advertising
Vantage Advertising Seattle	Bill Reams	11,894 mailing production 2,506 printing

FPS Tacoma	Karen Vialle	12,134 mailing services 46 labels
Gogerty & Stark Seattle	Citizens for a Better Downtown	46,986 consulting
FMR Washington DC	Citizens for a Better Downtown	34,912 phone consulting 7,367 consulting
J.P. Marketing San Francisco CA	Jim Street	24,445 marketing, software services
O'Neill & Co. Seattle	Tom Weeks	12,000 consultant
Winning Directions San Francisco CA	Citizens for a Better Downtown	25,909 printing
MBO Enterprises Seattle	Jim White	16,880 printing
R-4 Typographers Tacoma	Karen Vialle	14,982 printing
KREM Spokane	Children's Initiative	13,239 television
Rick Sullivan Seattle	Doug Jewett	11,639 media production
T.H. Research Portland OR	Citizens for a Better Downtown	5,000 polling 5,000 survey research
Randy Pepple Bellevue	Tim Hill	35,000 salary
W. A. Burton Jr. Bellevue	Tim Hill	16,214 salary
Chris Vance Kent	Tim Hill	12,472 salary
James Regan Seattle	Children's Initiative	17,999 salary 2,101 expenses 500 health care
Cathy Allen Seattle	Jim Street	18,729 salary
Kay Trepanier Seattle	Doug Jewett	16,500 salary
Sarah Poliak Seattle	Citizens for a Better Downtown	15,500 management fees
Clayton Lewis Seattle	Randy Revelle	12,937 salary
Gordon Bluechel Redmond	Diane Campbell	11,750 salary
Barbara Clemons Seattle	Mark Sidran	11,510 salary
Andrea Hews Seattle	Jeanette Williams	9,800 salary 1,545 newspaper
Barbara Pattison Lehning Seattle	Virginia Galle	10,350 salary

PURPOSES OF EXPENDITURES

One use of the figures collected for this tabulation of political vendors can be to examine the nature of expenditures made by the candidates. This section of the report analyzes the overall record of candidate expenditures, contrasts the nature of spending by the most expensive campaigns with those that spent lesser amounts, and makes some comparisons to show how opposing candidates spent their money.

Of the combined totals spent by the 30 candidates recorded in this study (cash payments of \$500 or more), exactly 49 per cent of the money was used directly for mass voter contact purposes: mailings, television, radio, and newspaper advertising. Salaries and consultant fees took the next largest amount, followed by printing costs, name display items, voter data, fundraising costs, telephone and other office expenses. The table below presents the totals spent for various purposes as reported by the 30 candidates, grouped by general categories.

DISTRIBUTION OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES REPORTED BY 30 HIGHEST-SPENDING CANDIDATES, 1989

Number of Candidates	Purpose of expenditure	\$
=====	=====	=====
	<u>Media advertising</u>	
1	Advertising	8,181
16	Newspaper Advertising	83,930
1	Magazine Advertising	677
15	Radio Advertising	238,287
6	Television Advertising	285,777
2	Media	126,877
1	Media Buy	70,000
1	Media Buying Services	2,000
1	Media Coverage	131,090
1	Media Placement	1,435
4	Media Production	44,779
1	Commissions	4,681
	Subtotal: Media advertising	\$997,714 30.6% of total
	<u>Mailings</u>	
30	Postage	419,053
20	Mailing Services	68,137
21	Labels	37,648
21	Lists	24,420
2	Mailing Production	45,566
1	Mailing Tubes	5,293
	Subtotal: mailings	\$600,117 18.4% of total
	<u>Personnel</u>	
26	Salary	412,828
13	Consulting	62,534
5	Consultant	31,294
1	Consulting Fees and Commission	4,199
2	Consulting: Communications	2,646
1	Consulting: Direct Mail	6,350
2	Consulting: Media	4,951
1	Consulting: Radio	11,500
1	Contract Services	5,663
6	Payroll Taxes	23,353
1	CPA Contract	2,250
1	Retainer	2,400

1 Day Care	1,734	
Subtotal: personnel	\$571,702	17.6% of total

Printed material

30 Printing	469,397	
12 Design Work	31,897	
8 Photography	8,607	
1 Illustrations	1,500	
Subtotal: printed material	\$511,401	15.7% of total

Name display

7 Billboards	28,720	
28 Signs	84,036	
10 Transit Advertising	96,005	
1 Posters	742	
2 Campaign Buttons	6,932	
2 T Shirts	1,457	
1 Balloon and Banner	1,477	
1 Balloons	467	
1 Hats	97	
Subtotal: name display	\$219,933	6.8% of total

Voter data

6 Polling	62,980	
6 Survey	16,003	
1 Focus Group Interviews	2,500	
1 Analysis	70	
1 Marketing and Software Services	24,445	
8 Computer Services	25,927	
1 Computer Software	1,851	
1 Computer Software and Training	713	
Subtotal: voter data	\$134,489	4.1% of total

Fundraising

17 Fundraiser Events	83,727	
1 Fundraising	5,000	
Subtotal: fundraising	\$88,727	2.7% of total

Telephone

24 Telephone Service	62,413	
1 Phone Bank	6,500	
Subtotal: telephone	\$68,913	2.1% of total

Office

19 Rent	37,598	
1 Rent, Phone, Copies, Mailing	3,014	
1 Utilities	958	
1 Computer	2,703	
4 Computer Rental	4,436	
1 Printer	2,265	
1 Printer Equipment	1,870	
2 Copier Rental	2,687	
1 Fax	750	
1 Installation	627	
4 Insurance	2,351	
1 Parking	952	
Subtotal: office	\$60,211	1.8% of total

Miscellaneous

1 Distribution of Flyers	526	
1 Election Night Party	970	
1 Supplies	64	
2 Travel	2,758	
Subtotal: miscellaneous	\$4,318	0.1% of total

Comparisons with legislative candidates. This particular group of candidates is not, of course, a representative random sample from which valid conclusions may be drawn concerning any population of candidates. They were

selected for study as the 30 highest-spending candidates of the 1989 elections, so they truly represent only the upper range of candidates in an odd-numbered year when elections are local and when statewide or legislative candidates are not usually on the ballot. It may be of some interest, however, to compare their campaign expenditure patterns with those of legislative candidates as shown in a PDC study of expenditures by house candidates in 15 legislative districts in 1986. The 1989 group of candidates spent far more for radio and television advertising than did the legislative candidates: 28% of total spending, compared to 12% for legislative candidates. They also spent a larger share for personnel: about 18% for salaries and consultants, compared with 7% by legislative candidates for personal services. Legislative candidates spent somewhat more heavily on printing: 25% compared to 18% for the 1989 local candidates. Both groups were similar in the amounts spent for postage and labels: about 18% for the 1989 group and about 22% for the legislative candidates.

Differences between spending levels. The biggest campaigns in the 1989 group didn't just use their additional dollars to buy more of the same things that the smaller campaigns bought. There were definite differences in spending emphases according to the total amount spent. The five smallest of the 30 candidate campaigns in this study--averaging \$44,000 each in total expenditures--spent 57% of their money on printed materials and mailings, only 8% on advertising in newspapers, radio, and television. The five largest campaigns--averaging \$270,000 each in total expenditures--put 45% of their money into mass media advertising, only 22% on printed materials and mailings.

Different constituencies may account for some of the differences in spending patterns. The five largest-spending campaigns were candidates for Seattle Mayor or King County Executive. The five lower spending campaigns included three candidates for King County Council, one for Seattle City Council, and one for Everett Mayor. The following table shows the average expenditures and percentages in the various categories reported by the two candidate groups.

AVERAGE EXPENDITURES BY CATEGORIES
REPORTED BY LOWEST 5 AND HIGHEST 5 CANDIDATES
IN GROUP OF 30 CANDIDATES IN 1989 STUDY

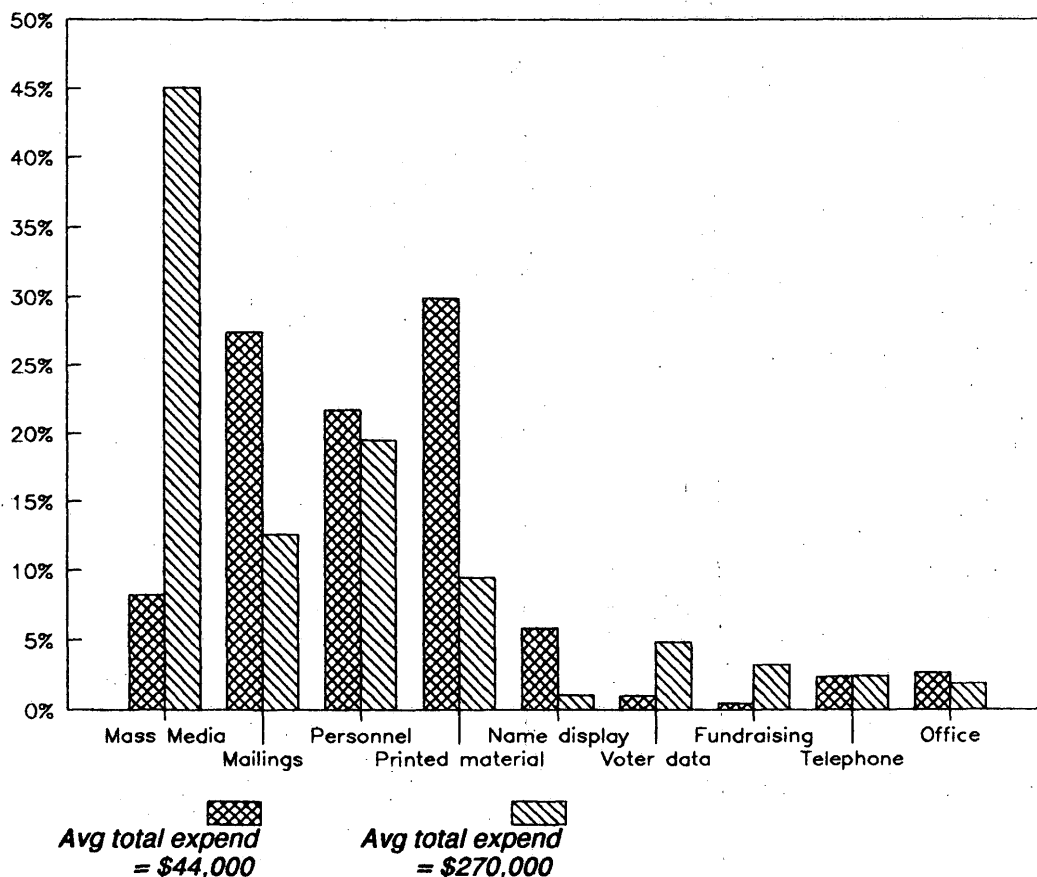
	Lowest 5		Highest 5	
	\$	%	\$	%
Media advertising	3,617	8.2%	121,464	45.0%
Mailings	12,069	27.4%	34,020	12.6%
Personnel	9,548	21.7%	52,480	19.5%
Printed material	13,147	29.9%	25,546	9.5%
Name display	2,565	5.8%	2,697	1.0%
Voter data	420	1.0%	12,937	4.8%
Fundraising	202	0.5%	8,636	3.2%
Telephone	1,041	2.4%	6,445	2.4%
Office	1,150	2.6%	5,038	1.9%
Miscellaneous	248	0.6%	421	0.2%
Totals	44,008		269,684	

The total amount spent by an average candidate in the top group was approximately six times the amount spent by a candidate in the lower group, but in only one spending category--telephone--was the amount spent in the top group proportional to the amount spent in the same category in the lower group. Name

display items like signs and billboards took an equivalent amount of money, whether the campaign was a high-spending one or one of the lower-spending group. Personnel costs, \$9,548 for a \$44,000 budget campaign and \$52,480 for a \$270,000 campaign, consistently took about 20% of the total amount spent.

The chart below illustrates the differences in the nature of campaign expenditures by showing the percentages of total cash expenditures that went into various categories, first by the lower-spending group, then by the higher-spending group.

Percentages of total expenditures spent for various uses
By candidates at two spending levels, 1989



Opponent comparisons: Using the same general categories of expenditures, it is possible to compare opposing candidates as to amounts spent and the priorities or emphases of each campaign that may be indicated by cash expenditures. Following are some side-by-side expenditure comparisons of general election opponents for the same office. The tables do not include in-kind contributions of goods and services. One campaign may show less spent for rent, for example, than the other, because one campaign had the benefit of

donated office space while the other campaign paid rent for its headquarters.

The first table shows dollars spent in general categories by the general election mayoral candidates in Washington's three largest cities. (Winners are indicated with an asterisk.) Totals do not include in-kind expenditures or amounts less than \$500.

	SEATTLE MAYOR		TACOMA MAYOR		SPOKANE MAYOR	
	Jewett	Rice*	Strege	Vialle*	Higgins	Barnard*
Media advertising	190,967	129,596	10,012	14,056	30,748	34,552
Name display	2,946	847	3,300	7,679	10,403	9,458
Printed material	43,453	23,952	30,932	19,081	11,498	6,282
Mailings	40,493	31,147	25,765	20,689	12,848	1,185
Telephone	8,216	6,676	1,787	601	483	1,385
Voter data	7,000	10,964	0	5,000	0	0
Personnel	36,477	37,979	9,905	12,878	8,060	7,516
Office	3,315	8,128	508	568	1,458	1,134
Fundraising	17,450	5,000	0	3,682	0	1,520
	350,317	254,289	82,209	84,234	75,498	63,032

Both Seattle candidates spent over half their money on mass advertising media, both print and broadcast. The Tacoma candidates, who share much of the media market and most of the broadcast outlets with Seattle, put smaller portions of their resources into the mass media and they emphasized printed materials and mailings in their expenditures. In Spokane, with its own media market, the mass advertising media ranked first in expenditures for both candidates, and took an especially large portion of the winning candidate's funds.

The losing candidate in Spokane spent about three times as much on printing and mailings as his opponent spent in those two categories.

The Tacoma candidates were close in total dollars spent: \$82,209 for Tim Strege and \$84,234 for Karen Vialle. But they were quite different in the ways they used those amounts. Strege spent over \$30,000 on printed material, while Vialle spent less than \$20,000. Strege also spent more than Vialle on a category that was big for both of them: \$25,765 on mailings to Vialle's \$20,689. A big difference between the two was the \$5,000 spent by Vialle on voter data. She also spent more than Strege for mass media, name display, personnel, and fundraising.

The next table presents the spending patterns of candidates for three different positions on the Seattle City Council.

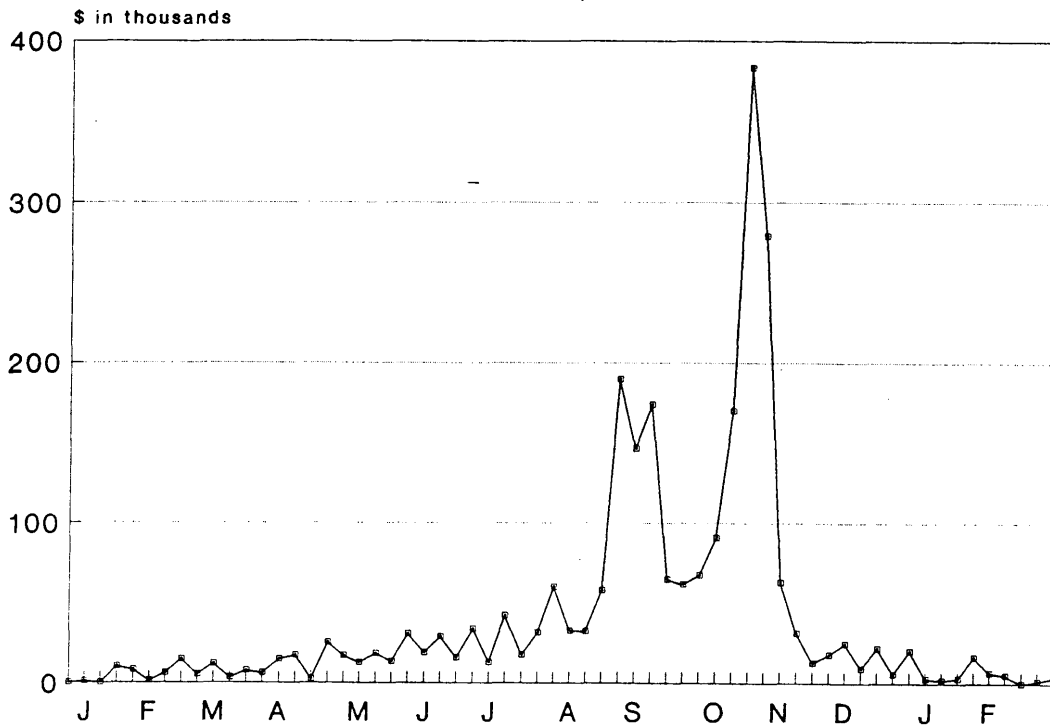
	SEATTLE COUNCIL		SEATTLE COUNCIL		SEATTLE COUNCIL	
	Benson*	Pageler	Chow*	Williams	Weeks*	Galle
Media advertising	13,328	5,000	16,907	18,049	21,761	17,027
Name display	703	1,013	14,560	2,875	8,263	9,644
Printed material	17,544	4,235	21,000	6,285	22,091	11,562
Mailings	21,963	21,508	22,827	13,907	32,661	9,708
Telephone	2,161	1,471	2,097	0	1,033	0
Voter data	0	200	70	0	500	2,553
Personnel	16,311	14,923	16,800	14,664	22,211	11,850
Office	3,000	2,100	562	687	1,800	3,014
Fundraising	7,628	0	974	2,800	0	739
	82,638	50,450	95,797	59,267	110,320	66,097

None of the city council candidates in Seattle approached the amounts spent on media advertising in the same election by the mayoral candidates. Four of the six candidates spent more to have their messages delivered to the voters through direct mail than they spent on any other of the campaign expenditure categories. Personnel costs were rather consistent in the Seattle campaigns: approximately \$15,000 for each of the city council candidates, about \$37,000 for each of the mayoral candidates.

TIMING OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

The flow of money into and out of the accounts of political campaigns is not a steady and regular flow, but one that has very definite surges. To illustrate this flow, the payment dates of the cash expenditures included in this study were recorded along with the amounts, purposes, and vendors. Seven of the 30 candidates whose records were included in this study were eliminated in the September primary, and their spending generally ended shortly thereafter, while the primary winners went on to raise and spend additional funds. The following chart is based on the weekly expenditure totals as reported by the 23 candidates in the study whose names appeared on both the primary and general election ballots in 1989.

Weekly Expenditures by Candidates
In Selected 1989 Elections



The chart shows campaign expenditures gradually increasing from January through August of the election year, rising for the first three weeks in September, dropping off again for a few weeks after the primary, then reaching maximum heights at the end of October and first week in November. About 50% of all the spending in these campaigns took place during three weeks in October and November. Another 20% of the expenditures occurred during the first three weeks of September.

The chart also shows expenditures continuing but trailing off in the three months following the election. The expenditures recorded were only those for goods and services incurred during the election period. Actually, some of the candidates still had obligations outstanding that were still unpaid at the time data for this study was compiled in March and April of 1990.

CONCLUSION

A total of 445 vendors were identified from campaign expenditure reports as recipients of cash payments of at least \$500 from one or more of the 30 highest-spending candidate or 5 highest-spending ballot proposition committees involved in elections in 1989 in Washington state. The top 21 of those vendors received half of the payments recorded. The top 21 included six agencies, four consultants, three broadcast stations, three printing firms, the U. S. Postal Service, a list vendor, a telephone company, a transit advertising firm, and a polling firm.

In terms of dollars received, the top five vendors were: U. S. Postal Service, \$476,804; T & D Services, a Seattle agency, \$201,253; First Tuesday, a Phoenix political consultant, \$182,954; KIRO, a Seattle radio and television outlet, \$161,353; and Boruck Printing, a Seattle printer, \$121,989.

In terms of campaigns served, the top five vendors were: U. S. Postal Service, 35; Labels & Lists, a Bellevue firm, 31; US West Communications, telephone, 26; Boruck Printing, 21; and The Franklin Press, a Seattle printer, 10.

As to general purpose of expenditures, the money spent by the 30 candidates was divided as follows: media advertising (radio, television, newspaper), 31%; mailings, 18%; personnel, 18%; printing, 16%; name display items (billboards and signs), 7%; voter data (polls and surveys), 4%; other (office, telephone, fundraising, miscellaneous), 6%. Distinct differences in spending patterns, however, were found between candidates for the same office. The chief difference between the very highest spending candidates in the group and those spending lower amounts was in the money the top-spending candidates spent for media advertising, largely radio and television.

This study also shows that in campaigns the size of these, spending (and consequently, fundraising) is spread throughout the calendar year of the election and even beyond. Half of all the money that was spent in these campaigns was spent during a three-week peak period that started in mid-October.